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LETTER DATED 7 SEPTEMBER 1993 FROM THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES A.I. OF THE PERMANENT MISSION OF SOMALIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

At the outset, I wish to extend my gratitude to you and the members of the Security Council for your sustained commitment to peace and your consistent efforts to restore it in my country - Somalia - for the benefit of my people first. I am sure that you and all the members of the Council have been disturbed by the death and injury of United Nations peace-keepers in the process. In this regard, I wish to condemn those acts of brutality, the latest of which claimed the lives of the seven Nigerian peace-keepers, and join you to express my deepest regrets, on behalf of all peace-loving Somalis, at the sad deaths and injuries of all those inflicted in this most noble mission.

Furthermore, I wish to commend the Secretary-General for his timely report (S/26317) on the situation in Somalia. In this connection, I wish to react to some issues of current relevance to the situation with a view to sharing them with you and the members of the Council.

I would therefore be very grateful if this letter and its attachment are circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Ms. Fatun M. HASSAN
Chargé d'affaires a.i.

Annex

Some issues relevant to the current state of affairs of Somalia

Despite obvious difficulties and challenges, such as those reported by the Secretary-General (S/26317), the United Nations Operations in Somalia have been successful thus far. The bloody inter-clan warfare has almost stopped. Deaths due to starvation have come down from several hundred a day in November 1992 to almost none. The violence in the triangle between Kismayo, Bardera and Mogadiscio that was largely responsible for the starvation and wanton death is now limited to a pocket in the south of Mogadiscio. It must be also gratifying to note that the need for emergency food is coming to an end very soon. This is indicative of the fact that with improved security, and peace in the making, people are now able to produce their own food. The inter-communal peace agreements in Kismayo, Galkayo, Boroma and the ongoing talks between communities of the Sanag region in Erigavo are all indications of progress to the right direction. The establishment of civil structures in many districts is very encouraging.

Given these facts, logic would dictate that those arguments which maintain that the United Nations efforts in Somalia have left much to be desired are therefore baseless and self-defeating. In fact, one sometimes wonders whether they are not motivated by vested interests or they are not simply mere insinuations driven by ulterior motives. It appears, however, that whatever success attained has been achieved, and may well be maintained, at a cost to the international community and I hope that the world will continue bearing with us. Unfortunately, the costs have sometimes involved the regrettable loss of lives and I pray that no more lives are lost.

In this regard, I wish I could express enough regrets, on behalf of all peace-loving Somalis, to the international community for those brutal incidents that have claimed the lives of 47 peace keepers and inflicted injuries on 175, the latest of which was that of 4 September 1993 in which 7 Nigerian peace keepers were sadly killed. Our condolences go to the nations, governments, organizations, families and friends of all those who lost their lives as well as those who have sustained injuries in the pursuit of a most noble objective - enforcing peace and facilitating for humanity, justice, freedom and democracy to prevail in Somalia - as part of a truly non-partisan international effort.

Having expressed this most deserved tribute to those who earned it so truly and gloriously, I must express my dismay at those disheartening voices preposterously calling for reversing the merits of an almost successful effort. Indeed, given the achievements as of last fall, any logical and rational assessment would encourage a more concerted international effort to enhance the effectiveness of UNOSOM II by removing the obvious constraints and consolidating the progress made to speed up the momentum of success achieved thus far.

Notwithstanding the resolutions of the Security Council, it is saddening to note that planned resources and scheduled re-enforcement were not arriving in time, or were not adequate or complete when they arrived, for UNOSOM to implement its mandate as conceived (S/26317). Nevertheless, I find it neither too early nor too late to extend my thanks to all those states members of the United Nations and non-governmental organizations who have made their contributions, in whatever form or amount.

I have a feeling that the disquiet from some quarters may be related to a failure to fully grasp the mandate, rationale and objectives of UNOSOM II as determined by the unique situation of present-day Somalia. UNOSOM's mandate was clearly stipulated in the Secretary-General's report (S/25354, para. 57) and subsequently approved under RES/S/814 (1993), including:

(i) ensure that all factions continue to respect the cessation of hostilities and other agreements to which they all agreed;

(ii) prevent any resumption of violence and, if necessary, take appropriate action against any faction that violates or threatens to violate the cessation of hostilities;

(iii) maintain control of heavy weapons ... ; and

(iv) protect, as required, the personnel installations and equipment of United Nations and its agencies ... and to take forceful action as may be required to neutralize armed elements that attack or threaten to attack, such facilities and personnel, pending the establishment of a new Somali police force ... .

However, the report also made it clear, by way of justification, that: " ... without improved security all over the country the political process cannot prosper and humanitarian operations will remain vulnerable to disruption". This mandate was, I believe, adopted by the Security Council with the goal - in the words of the Secretary-General (S/25354, para. 41) - " to assist the people of Somalia to create and maintain order and new institutions for their own governance".

Given this mandate, rationale, goal and the relevant Addis Ababa accords signed by the Somali factions, it is not true that the United Nations is doing the wrong thing in Somalia in response to the perpetrators of the actions of violence that gave rise to the incident of 5 June and its sequels. The repetition of these incidents emphasizes the wisdom in the Secretary-General's repeated calls for disarming. Counter-arguments advocating the reverse are not, therefore, tenable. If, however, the current debate is critical of UNOSOM's delay to contain the elements of violence sooner than it has taken it, then the situation calls for a re-enforced moral, material and political support to the operation on the part of the international community. Indeed, one cannot over-emphasize, where they exist, those administrative and

logistical difficulties that have hampered and continue to impede, the capacity of UNOSOM II from the outset and to which the Secretary-General's report (S/26317, page 4, para. 9) refers as "acute growing pains".

With regard to what UNOSOM is not, and should not be doing, I wish to refer, once again, to the Secretary-General's observation in his report (S/25354, para. 92):

> " ... I continue to hold to my conviction that the political will to achieve security, reconciliation and peace must spring from the Somalis themselves. Even if it is authorized to resort to forceful action in certain circumstances, UNOSOM II cannot and must not be expected to substitute itself for the Somali people. Nor can or should it use its authority to impose one or an other governmental organization. It may and should, however, be in a position to press for the observance of the United Nations standards of human rights and justice."

I have no reason to doubt that UNOSOM adheres to and will continue to abide by these principles. Never-the-less, unfounded mistrust by any skeptic or hostile group could provoke a clash of interest with UNOSOM's mandate and rules of engagement, hence complicating matters much more to prolong the process only so much. Those situations, however, should not necessarily result in the premature termination of operations or a panicky change of heart or course. By the same token, I am sure that UNOSOM would seriously consider the grievances of any disgruntled group(s) and accommodate them in any possible way that would not undermine the principles of human rights and justice as determined by international laws and binding agreements reached between the Somali factions.

While I strongly believe that those who perpetrate crimes against humanity, in defiance of international laws and locally binding agreements, should be brought to justice; I trust that UNOSOM will also ensure that no single Somali faction, political group, movement, clan or sub-clan is, or will be, excluded in any way if the reconciliation process must succeed. Furthermore, no such actions as might be peace enforcing, be they sanctioning or condemning, should appear to be favouring any group(s) over any other(s) whether by intent or by default. I am sure that the Council will agree with this position and I trust that UNOSOM has no intention of compromising it.

In conclusion, it is my considered and sincere view that the United Nations intervention is on the right course and there should be no disquiet related to the role, objectives and mandate of UNOSOM II. Both wisdom and economy of effort would, therefore, suggest that it is not only premature, but also unwarranted, to even consider the change of the course of operations at this stage. But, I also believe that the United Nations is ultimately

accountable for UNOSOM's capacity to implement its mandate. In this case, all the states members of the United Nations are competent, since such a colossal task requires the undivided international support, as demanded by relevant Security Council resolutions.

Firstly, I hold to the firm conviction that it takes so much as the collective international will and strong commitment of all governments to enable UNOSOM implement its mandate and achieve its objective. I can, therefore, only plead with all states members of the United Nations to continue their support to the United Nations programme in Somalia and bring their will and weight to bear on the effectiveness of UNOSOM in this most critical stage of the process.

Secondly, one can only appreciate the commendable part played by the United States, as a competent partner in the United Nations and a senior member of the Security Council, to supplement UNOSOM's capacity in the face of all those difficulties highlighted in the Secretary-General's report (S/26317). I, therefore, sincerely hope that the United States will maintain the pivotal role she has played in the Somali crisis and will continue providing positive re-enforcement to the United Nations Operations in Somalia during its critical embryonic stage.

Finally, disarming is, and should be, considered as an issue ranking high in the order of efforts to enforce peace in Somalia, an important step in the process of restoring law-and-order, a wise tactical move in an appropriate strategy for peace keeping and, most importantly, a relevant measure which is consistent with the approved mandate of UNOSOM II, the Addis ababa agreements of 27 March 1993 and the wishes of all peace-loving Somalis. Hence, I am inclined to support the Secretary-General's repeated emphasis on disarming and I hope that the international community will respond to this call with due fervor for its importance. I, therefore, beseech the members of the Security Council to collectively and strongly re-emphasize the early implementation of this measure.